9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

poems in imitation of these great models. They attended evening sessions near the fire, in the kraal, where by sarcasm and humiliation, their capacity for self control was put to the test.

These few companies constituted the nucleus of a new army. It was completed by detaching a certain number of people from other armies to incorporate them in the new one. Except for this, armies existed indefinitely. When a king died and when a new army was formed, the previous army founded by him did not disappear. Only some members of the former armies joined the new one. These people were not incorporated individually but with their patrilineages, primary (*inzu*) or even secondary (*umulyango*).

Except for the *intore*, it seems more accurate to say that an army was made up of patrilineages rather than of individuals. Indeed 100 per cent. of our informants affirm that a man was not affiliated alone to an army but that he was in it together with his sons, married or not, his brothers and their sons, and his paternal uncles. It was a group of agnates indeed, as the sister's sons were not included in the group according to ninety-eight per cent. of our informants. In the army, the patrilineage remained a closed group under its inzu head. Our informants were unanimous (100 per cent.) that dues and services to which the army chief was entitled had to be asked for from members through the lineage chiefs. This rule did not apply to the *intore*. They entered alone into the army, although later their children would also join. According to 100 per cent. of the informants a man belonged only to one army. The army chief was called *umugabe* or *umutware w'ingabo*.

(*b*) *The warriors' section*

In any army, according to eighty-four per cent. of our informants, there were two sections—the warrior's section and the herdsmen's section (warrior: *ingabo*, herdsman: *umushumba*). The warriors' section was made up of the few companies of men who had received the *intore* training to whom were added their personal dependents who were also fighting. Warriors did not wear a uniform but had some special badges.

As mentioned in a preceding section, a certain number of warriors of an army camped near the borders threatened by neighbouring enemies. If an attack occurred, they called the other warriors who lived nearby and, while waiting for their aid, held

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

the aggressors at bay. Army herdsmen also lived in the same region. Armies constituted during previous reigns were more likely to be localized in the interior of the country.

Expeditions against neighbouring countries were made. They were prepared by spies' reports. Military chiefs had at their disposal people named *abatasi*. They depended directly on the court and had taken an oath not to betray Ruanda. They were the only ones who could have connexions with foreign governments without committing an offence punishable by death.

There were two kinds of expedition: those planned by the king (*igitero*) and those planned by a military chief. The latter expeditions were short raids which could not last more than two days (*agateroshuma*). A very complicated ritual was observed in the choice of the leader of the expedition (*umugabe w'igitero*). This choice was made after divining operations by means of the viscera of steers and rams. During the battle, the general of the expedition would sit motionless in his headquarters; every move backwards of his would have resulted in his forces' flight.

Some of the warriors (*abakoni*, stick-bearers) had the special charge of capturing cattle. If the expedition was successful, it ended with a celebration lasting several days. During the festivities, rewards and badges of honour were granted, warriors marched off in triumph, and their deeds were hymned and praised in poems.

(c) The herdsmen's section

The section of herdsmen, as its name suggests, tended the army's cattle. A certain number of herds were regarded as linked to a particular army. The army-chief was also responsible for these cattle and in that capacity he commanded several head herdsmen (*umutware w'inka*, *umutware w'inyambo*).

An army's cattle did not constitute an homogeneous group from the point of view of the rights enjoyed over them by different persons. Four categories of an army's cattle may be distinguished according to the person who had the right of effective disposal of the cattle. By effective disposal is meant here the rights allowing one person to give cattle to another, who then becomes his client. A first category of the army's cattle comprises those of which the mwami had an effective disposal; the other three categories were those in which the rights belonged respectively to the army-chief,